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FM AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 4 PRETORIA 1146

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PGOV, PINS, MORG, MPOL, SF

SUBJ: BLACK ATTITUDES: HOW BLACK SOUTH AFRICANS VIEW THE U.S.

1. SUMMARY: SOUTH AFRICA'S BLACKS VIEW THE UNITED STATES FROM SUCH A VARIETY OF PERSPECTIVES AND DRASTICALLY DIFFERENT LEVELS OF KNOWLEDGE AND CONCERN ABOUT U.S. RELATIONS WITH SOUTHERN AFRICA THAT NO SINGLE GENERALIZATION CAN BE TERMED PREDOMINANT. INDEED TO MOST RURAL OR TRIBAL
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ELEMENTS - A LARGE PORTION OF THE S.A. BLACK POPULATION - THE U.S., IF IT EXISTS AT ALL IN THEIR MINDS IS BLUE JEANS, COCA COLA, JAZZ MUSIC, AND WHATEVER ELSE IS PROJECTED BY THE MEDIA AVAILABLE TO THEM. MODERATE BLACKS, AND THOSE WITH ESTABLISHED INTERESTS OF THEIR OWN, FOR THEIR PART TEND TO BE RELATIVELY WELL INCLINED TOWARD THE U.S. THEIR CRITICISMS FOCUS MORE ON THE DETAILS RATHER THAN THE

FUNDAMENTALS OF US POLICY. IN GENERAL THEY WOULD LIKE TO SEE INCREASED USG SUPPORT FOR THEIR EFFORTS DIRECTED TOWARD EVOLUTIONARY CHANGE WITHIN THE "SYSTEM." MOST HOMELAND LEADERS ALSO TEND TO ACCEPT MOST U.S. POLICIES. HOWEVER, SOME CRITICIZE THE LACK OF U.S. SUPPORT (ESPECIALLY DIPLOMATIC RECOGNITION AND FINANCIAL AID), ARGUING THAT THE U.S. SHOULD ACCEPT THAT THEY HAVE OPTED TO REMOVE THEIR PEOPLE FROM AN UNJUST AND UNWORKABLE SITUATION. IN THE ATTITUDES OF THE 3-4 MILLION BLACKS LIVING IN OR NEAR URBAN CENTERS, THE IMAGE OF THE U.S. IS REGARDED WITH MORE SUSPICION OR EVEN DISTRUST. OLDER BLACK RADICALS WHO HAVE REJECTED THE POSSIBILITY OF EVOLUTION TOWARD A JUST SOCIETY INTERPRET THE U.S. POSITION ON COMMUNICATION AND PEACEFUL CHANGE EITHER AS MISDIRECTED OR A DELIBERATE ATTEMPT AT MISDIRECTION OF THEIR EFFORTS. THEY ACCORDINGLY REGARD THE U.S. WITH GROWING SUSPICION AS TIME PASSES AND PROGRESS FAILS TO BE MADE TOWARD THE LIBERATION THEY SEEK. YOUNGER AND STUDENT RADICAL ATTITUDES TEND TO BE BASED MORE ON EMOTIONAL THAN REASONED CONVICTION AND THEY OFTEN ARE POORLY INFORMED. HOWEVER MANY ARE HOSTILE TO THE U.S. BECAUSE OF PERCEIVED SUPPORT OF THE SAG BY A COUNTRY MANY OF THEM REGARD AS "A GREATER SOUTH AFRICA." MANY OTHER URBAN BLACKS SHARE SOME OF THE OUTLOOK OF THE ABOVE-MENTIONED RADICAL GROUPS BECAUSE OF WHAT THEY SEE AS THE ROLE OF U.S. BUSINESS IN S.A. TO THE EXTENT THEY REGARD IT AS AN INDICATOR OF U.S. POLICY TOWARD THE SAG AND THE CONTINUATION OF APARTHEID, THEY TOO ARE SUSPICIOUS OF U.S. MOTIVES IN SOUTH AFRICA. END SUMMARY.

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2. BLACKS IN SOUTH AFRICA VIEW THE UNITED STATES FROM SUCH A VARIETY OF PERSPECTIVES ABOUT U.S. RELATIONS WITH SOUTHERN AFRICA THAT NO SINGLE GENERALIZATION CAN BE TERMED PREDOMINANT. THEIR POINT OF CONTACT WITH AMERICA FALLS LARGELY WITHIN THREE AREAS: EXPOSURE TO MOVIES, PUBLICATIONS, TELEVISION OR USIS PROGRAMS; ASSOCIATION WITH AMERICAN FIRMS OPERATING IN SOUTH AFRICA; AND DIALOGUE WITH U.S. REPRESENTATIVES BASED IN OR TRAVELLING THROUGH SOUTH AFRICA. RELATIVELY FEW HAVE FIRST-HAND KNOWLEDGE OF THE UNITED STATES. UNDERSTANDABLY, THEY TEND TO RELATE THE IMAGE OBTAINED FROM THEIR CONTACTS TO THEIR OWN SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA. THIS PRODUCES GREAT INTEREST IN THE QUESTION OF HOW THE U.S. HAS DEALT WITH ITS OWN RACE RELATION. AT THE SAME TIME THE FRUSTRATION OF THEIR OWN SITUATION UNDER APARTHEID INEVITABLY CAUSES THEM TO QUESTION U.S. POLICY PRONOUNCEMENTS REGARDING SOUTH AFRICA AND U.S. POLICIES RELATING TO HUMAN RIGHTS. THEY WOULD LIKE TO BELIEVE THAT THE U.S. ACTIVELY WORKS TOWARD ITS ENUNCIATED GOALS, BUT THEY SEE NO REAL CHANGE IN THEIR

OWN SITUATION. MANY, THEREFORE, EITHER REGARD U.S. ACTIONS AS INEFFECTIVE, OR SUSPECT THAT ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIPS AND "STRATEGIC" CONSIDERATIONS INVOLVING SOUTH AFRICA ARE SO ESSENTIAL TO THE U.S. THAT WE ARE NOT ACTUALLY TRYING TO BRING ABOUT CHANGES IN THEIR INTERESTS.

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 4 PRETORIA 1146

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

3. THE HISTORY AND PRESENT SITUATION OF U.S. BLACKS
APPEALS STRONGLY TO INFORMED SOUTH AFRICAN BLACKS. THEIR
EVALUATION OF THE U.S. BLACK COMMUNITY VARIES
FROM DETACHED ANALYSIS OF CIVIL RIGHTS STRATEGIES TO
IMPASSIONED COMPARING OF THE U.S. EXPERIENCE WITH
EQUIVALENT EXPERIENCES IN SOUTH AFRICA. BECAUSE THERE
ARE POINTS OF SIMILARITY BETWEEN THE U.S. AND SOUTH AFRICAN
BLACK EXPERIENCES, MANY BLACKS ARE MORE INTERESTED AND
BETTER INFORMED ABOUT THE BLACK AMERICAN COMMUNITY THAN

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ABOUT THE U.S. AS A WHOLE AND THE U.S. BLACK COMMUNITY BECOMES A FOCUS OF THEIR INTEREST IN THE U.S. THIS TENDS TO DISTORT THE PICTURE EVEN THE BEST INFORMED S. A. BLACKS HAVE OF THE U.S. MANY REGARD THE U.S. AS "RACIAL PARADISE" RELATIVE TO THEIR OWN SITUATION, SINCE U.S. LAWS PROTECT THE RIGHTS OF INDIVIDUALS REGARDLESS OF RACE. THOSE WHO HAVE VISITED THE U.S. UNANIMOUSLY APPROVE OF THE EFFORTS WHICH HAVE BEEN AND ARE BEING MADE TO ELIMINATE DE FACTO AND DE JURE DISCRIMINATION. THIS IS NOT TO SAY THAT THE MODERATES ARE UNCRITICAL OR UNAWARE OF NEGATIVE ASPECTS OF U.S. SOCIETY; QUITE THE OPPOSITE MAY BE TRUE, AND YET THE FACT OF BLACK AND WHITE AMERICANS LIVING AND WORKING TOGETHER WITHOUT THE RESTRICTIONS IMPOSED ON RACE RELATIONS BY THE SAG OVERWHELMS MOST CRITICISM. CONTRARIWISE, RADICAL BLACKS, PARTICULARLY THE YOUNGER ONES, ARE PRONE TO VIEW THE UNITED STATES AS A WHITE RACIST SOCIETY. VIRTUALLY ISOLATED IN THEIR EDUCATIONAL EXPERIENCE, THEY ARE UNAWARE OF DOMESTIC AMERICAN TRENDS AND DERIVE THEIR OPIONS FROM COMPARISONS WITH SOUTH AFRICAN SOCIETY. SINCE THEY ARE CONSTANTLY INFORMED BY THE OFFICIAL RADIO AND TV--AS ARE ALL SOUTH AFRICANS-- THAT SOUTH AFRICA IS A PART OF THE WEST, YOUNG BLACKS OFTEN INFER THAT THE UNITED STATES MUST BE SIMILAR TO SOUTH AFRICA. HOWEVER, DESPITE THIS IMAGE OF THE U.S., YOUNG RADICALS ACKNOWLEDGE THE U.S. BLACK COMMUNITY AS THEIR CHIEF OUTSIDE INSPIRATION, AND SOMETIMES NAME SUCH FIGURES AS MARTIN LUTHER KING OR ELDRIDGE CLEAVER AS THEIR MODELS FOR ACTION. FOR THE MOST PART, HOWEVER, STUDENT LEADERS ARE MORE CONCERNED WITH MATTERS CLOSER TO HAND THAN U.S. SOCIETY, AND THEIR PERCEPTION OF THE U.S. REFLECTS THEIR OWN SITUATION MUCH MORE CLOSELY THAN THAT OF ANY OTHER GROUP DISCUSSED IN THIS PAPER.

4. GROUP ATTITUDES:

A) MODERATE BLACKS AND THOSE WITH ESTABLISHED INTERESTS
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OF THEIR OWN ARE RELATIVELY WELL INCLINED TOWARDS THE U.S.; THEIR CRITICISM FOCUSES ON THE DETAILS RATHER THAN ON FUNDAMENTALS, AND THERE ARE FEW BASIC DIFFERENCES BETWEEN USG POLICY TOWARDS RSA AND THE MODERATES' GOALS. BECAUSE THEY ARE WORKING FOR EVOLUTIONARY CHANGE WITHIN THE EXISTING ORDER, THE POLICY OF ENCOURAGING DIALOGUE

AND SUPPORTING EVOLUTION TOWARD A MULTI-RACIAL SOCIETY PARALLELS AND OFTEN COMPLEMENT THEIR EFFORTS. MODERATE BLACK ELEMENTS WOULD LIKE TO SEE INCREASED USG SUPPORT FOR THEIR EFFORTS, CITING THE NEED FOR EDUCATIONAL FACILITIES, SCHOLARSHIPS, AND PROFESSIONAL AND TECHNICAL TRAINING AS AMONG THEIR PRIORITIES.

B) HOMELAND LEADERS: BLACKS WHO ARE INCLINED TO ACCEPT SEPARATE DEVELOPMENT AS THE MOST PROMISING ROUTE TO BETTERMENT OF THEIR SITUATION GENERALLY PERCEIVE U.S. POLICY FROM A COMPLETELY DIFFERENT PERSPECTIVE THAN DO URBAN BLACK LEADERS, WHETHER MODERATE OR RADICAL. THEIR ATTITUDE IS PARTLY CONDITIONED BY THEIR PERCEIVED NEED FOR FINANCIAL SUPPORT FROM THE U.S., EITHER IN THE FORM OF BOTH PRIVATE INVESTMENT OR USG-FUNDED DEVELOPMENTAL AID. DESIRING AS MUCH SUPPORT AS POSSIBLE FROM ABROAD, MANY HOMELAND LEADERS TEND TO ACCEPT U.S. STATEMENTS OF POSITION BUT CRITICIZE LACK OF SPECIFIC USG SUPPORT FOR THE HOMELANDS. FOR THEM, THE U.S. IS A WELL-INTENTIONED NATION WHOSE POLICIES ARE UNFORTUNATELY MISDIRECTED. THOSE HOMELAND LEADERS WHO HAVE ACCEPTED INDEPENDENCE ARGUE THAT THEY HAVE REMOVED THEIR PEOPLE FROM AN UNJUST AND UNWORKABLE SITUATION, BUT THAT TRUE INDEPENDENCE FROM WHITE SOUTH AFRICA WILL COME ONLY WITH ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE AND RECOGNITION BY THE NATIONS OF THE WORLD OF THEIR INDEPENDENT STATUS. THEY BELIEVE THE U.S. SHOULD SUPPORT THEM IN EVERY WAY POSSIBLE TO ACHIEVE INDEPENDENCE AS SOON AS POSSIBLE, SIMULTANEOUSLY DEVELOPING THEIR RESOURCES AND PEOPLE. THOSE HOMELAND LEADERS WHO HAVE NOT ACCEPTED INDEPENDENCE ARGUE THAT THEY ARE WORKING

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WITHIN THE SYSTEM TO CHANGE OR OVERTHROW APARTHEID AND WOULD LIKE BOTH MORAL AND DIPLOMATIC U.S. SUPPORT. KWAZULU CHIEF MINISTER GATSHA BUTHELEZI REPRESENTS A SPECIAL CASE. HE IS THE ONLY HOMELANDS LEADER WHO HAS PUBLICLY QUESTIONED THE SINCERITY OF AMERICAN OPPOSITION TO APARTHEID. BUTHELEZI ALSO REALISTICALLY ACCEPTS THE UNLIKELIHOOD OF USG ASSISTANCE TO ANY HOMELAND AND THUS HAS DIRECTED HIS EFFORTS TOWARD SECURING PRIVATE U.S. ASSISTANCE FOR KWAZULU.

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CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

C) RADICAL BLACKS: IN THIS ANALYSIS, A RADICAL IS ONE WHO HAS CONCLUDED THAT REVOLUTION OR VIOLENT OVERTHROW OF EXISTING INSTITUTIONS IS THE ONLY WAY TO OBTAIN MEANINGFUL CHANGE. THE OLDER RADICAL IS A BLACK WHO HAS DEVOTED HIMSELF FOR SOME YEARS TO FAR-REACHING AND PERHAPS VIOLENT CHANGES, AND MAY BE AN EXPERIENCED UNDERGROUND WORKER IN SOME ESTABLISHED POLITICAL ORGANIZATION. THE YOUNG RADICAL, MOST OFTEN A STUDENT, IS RELATIVELY INEXPERIENCED, OFTEN EMOTIONAL AND NOT
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INFREQUENTLY CONTRADICTORY AS HE MOVES IN DISCUSSION FROM GENERALIZATION TO SPECIFICS.

(I) OLDER BLACK RADICALS, VIEWING THEIR STRUGGLE BASICALLY IN IDEOLOGICAL TERMS, REGARD USG PROFESSIONS OF SUPPORT FOR CHANGE WITH SUSPICION. BECAUSE THEY HAVE REJECTED THE POSSIBILITY OF EVOLUTION TOWARDS A JUST SOCIETY WITHIN THE SYSTEM, THESE RADICALS DISTRUST ANY GOVERNMENT WHICH SEEMS WILLING TO WORK WITH THE SAG. CONVINCED THAT

PEACEFUL CHANGE IS IMPOSSIBLE, THEY INTERPRET THE US POLICY OF COMMUNICATION AND PEACEFUL CHANGE AS A DELIBERATE ATTEMPT AT MISDIRECTION OR, AT BEST, A MISGUIDED EFFORT TO SIDE WITH BLACKS. MOREOVER, OLDER RADICALS OFTEN HAVE RATIONALIZED THEIR OPPOSITION TO CHANGE ALONG LINES OF REVOLUTIONARY PHILOSOPHIES ANTAGONISTIC TO WESTERN CAPITALISM AND DEMOCRACY, AND HAVE INCORPORATED THOSE ANTAGONISMS INTO THEIR ATTITUDE TOWARD THE SAG AND SECONDARILY, THE USG. MANY HAVE VISITED OR LIVED IN THE U.S., OR KNOW OTHERS WHO HAVE DONE SO, AND REALIZE THE US HAS MADE SINCERE EFFORTS TO OVERCOME RACIAL DISCRIMINATION INTERNALLY. THEY THEREFORE CONCEDE THAT THE U.S. MAY BE WELL-DISPOSED TOWARDS BLACK ASPIRATIONS AND SOME, IMPRESSED BY THEIR EXPERIENCES IN THE U.S., WOULD EVEN CONCEDE THE MULTI-RACIAL SOCIETY OF THE US AS A MODEL, IN GENERAL TERMS, FOR THE SOCIETY THEY WISH TO ESTABLISH IN SOUTH AFRICA. THERE IS A FREQUENT DICHOTOMY IN THE ATTITUDE ADOPTED BY SOME OF THE OLDER RADICALS TOWARD THE USG, A GOVERNMENT WHOSE INTERNAL POLICIES THEY MUST COMMEND BUT WHOSE FOREIGN POLICIES THEY SUSPECT. OTHERS ENVISAGE THE ESTABLISHMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA OF A TOTALLY DIFFERENT TYPE OF SOCIETY AND ARE, THEREFORE, FULLY OPPOSED TO THE US EITHER AS AN ALLY OR AS AN INSPIRATION.

(II) STUDENT RADICALS FOR THEIR PART HAVE NO CLEAR COMMITMENT TO ANY PARTICULAR IDEOLOGY AS YET, ALTHOUGH THEIR COMMITMENT TO REVOLUTIONARY CHANGE IN SOUTH AFRICA EQUALS OR EXCEEDS THAT OF THE OLDER RADICALS. STUDENTS AND OTHER
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YOUNG BLACKS ARE COMMITTED TO CHANGE FROM A FEELING OF FRUSTRATION AND OUTRAGE AT THE SYSTEM WHICH HAS TRAPPED THEIR FAMILIES, FRIENDS, AND SELVES. THEY ARE, ON THE WHOLE, LESS EXPERIENCED AND LESS INFORMED THAN THEIR OLDER COUNTERPARTS, AND SO ARE BOTH LESS RIGID AND LESS PRECISE IN THEIR CONCEPTUALIZING. THEIR ATTITUDES TEND TO BE BASED MORE ON EMOTIONAL THAN REASONED CONVICTION AND IT IS CONSEQUENTLY MORE DIFFICULT TO DISCUSS POLICY WITH THEM. THE ISSUE FOR THEM OFTEN IS WHETHER THE USG IS WILLING TO USE ITS INFLUENCE (OFTEN EXAGGERATED IN THEIR EYES) TO FORCE THE SAG TO CHANGE. THE STUDENTS TEND TO BE POORLY INFORMED. MANY YOUNG BLACK ACTIVISTS ARE HOSTILE TO THE U.S. BECAUSE THEY PERCEIVE THE USG IN TERMS SIMILAR TO THE SAG. IN SUPPORT OF THEIR ATTITUDE THEY POINT TO SAG EFFORTS TO IDENTIFY ITSELF AS PART OF THE WESTERN WORLD LED BY THE US, THE PRESENCE OF US BUSINESS FIRMS IN SOUTH AFRICA AND THE WAY IN WHICH THE US HAS VOTED ON SOME U.N. ISSUES AFFECTING SOUTH AFRICA, NAMIBIA AND RHODESIA. YOUNG ACTIVISTS USUALLY HAVE HAD LITTLE CONTACT WITH OR

INFORMATION ON THE WORLD OUTSIDE THEIR IMMEDIATE COMMUNITIES
AND ONE MISCONCEPTION OFTEN HAS FED ANOTHER.
BECAUSE OF THE IDENTIFICATION WITH BLACK AMERICANS
MADE BY MANY BLACK SOUTH AFRICANS, THE STUDENTS OFTEN
CONCEIVE OF BLACK AMERICA AS A SUB-COMMUNITY IN PERMANENT
OPPOSITION TO WHITE AMERICA. WHETHER FROM IGNORANCE OR
CONVICTION, STUDENT RADICALS OFTEN ALSO IDENTIFY THE
AMERICAN GHETTO WITH THE SOUTH AFRICAN BANTU TOWNSHIP.
THUS THE CONCEPT OF THE USG AS A GREATER SAG TENDS TO
GAIN GROUND.

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CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

5. RUNNING THROUGH ALL THE GROUPS THERE IS THE FEELING
THAT COMMUNISM, SO VILIFIED BY THE SAG AND VARIOUS US
PERSONALITIES, MUST HAVE SOMETHING GOOD TO OFFER.
"THE ENEMY OF MY ENEMY IS MY FRIEND." YOUNG RADICALS

HAVE BEEN DENIED ANY EDUCATION ABOUT COMMUNISM OR SOCIALISM
AND SO DEVELOP FUZZY ATTRACTION FOR A SYSTEM FROM WHICH
THEY ARE SHIELDED. EVEN BLACK MODERATES EXPRESS LITTLE
DISTASTE FOR COMMUNIST FOREIGN POLICY, THOUGH THEY
PREFER THE WESTERN ECONOMIC SYSTEM THEY KNOW.
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6. A SEPARATE PAPER IN THIS SERIES IS DEVOTED TO BLACK
ATTITUDES TOWARDS U.S. BUSINESS INVOLVEMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA.
SOME MENTION MUST BE MADE OF IT HERE BECAUSE MOST INFORMED
BLACKS PERCEIVE U.S. INVESTMENT AS A COMPONENT
AND INDICATOR OF USG POLICY TOWARDS SOUTH AFRICA. MODERATE URBAN
BLACKS SEEM TO FAVOR EXISTING OR INCREASED LEVELS OF
INVESTMENT, ARGUING EITHER THAT U.S. COMPANIES PROVIDE
JOBS FOR BLACK WORKERS OR THAT AMERICAN
COMPANIES ARE BOTH A LEVER ON THE SAG AND AN EXAMPLE
TO S.A. COMPANIES OF EQUITABLE PAY, PROMOTION AND HIRING
PRACTICES. RADICAL BLACKS, ESPECIALLY THE OLDER,
IDEOLOGICALLY MOTIVATED RADICALS, SEE U.S. BUSINESS AS
EITHER AN INHERENT PART OF THE APARTHEID STRUCTURE,
AND THEREFORE MARKED FOR DESTRUCTION, OR AS A DISTRACTION
AND OBSTACLE IN THE PATH OF CHANGE. IN EITHER CASE, U.S.
BUSINESS IS NOT CONSIDERED AN EFFECTIVE AGENT FOR CHANGE
IN SOUTH AFRICA. THE YOUNGER RADICALS, THE STUDENT ACTIVISTS,
HAVE NOT THOUGHT OUT THEIR POSITION ON INVESTMENT
AS CLEARLY AS THIS, AND IN MANY CASES HAVE BARELY
CONSIDERED THE QUESTION OF FOREIGN INVOLVEMENT IN
APARTHEID. MANY SIMPLY REGARD ANY WHITE-OWNED BUSINESS
AS HOSTILE TO THEIR GOALS.

7. CONCLUSION: AS INDICATED IN THE INTRODUCTION AND
SUMMARY, THE RANGE OF BLACK ATTITUDES TOWARD THE U.S.
VARIES CONSIDERABLY. WE KNOW OF NO RELIABLE WAY TO
ASCRIBE RELATIVE WEIGHTS TO THE VARIOUS ATTITUDINAL
SECTORS, BUT ON THE WHOLE OUR JUDGEMENT IS THAT A
RESERVOIR OF POSITIVE OUTLOOK TOWARD THE U.S. STILL
EXISTS-BOTH AMONG MODERATES AND OLDER RADICALS-
WHICH COULD EXPAND GIVEN THE U.S. POLICIES AND ACTIONS
WHICH ARE PERSUASIVE TO BLACKS ABOUT THE U.S. COMMITMENT
TO BLACK LIBERATION OR BETTERMENT OF EXISTENCE. HOWEVER
MUCH DEPENDS ON THE REAL PROGRESS ATTAINED IN
ATTAINING BLACK GOALS. IF FRUSTRATION AND ANGER DRIVE
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MORE BLACKS INTO THE REVOLUTIONARY CAMP, HOSTILITY

TOWARDS THE U.S. AS A PERCEIVED ALLY OF THE SAG WILL
INCREASE; IF THE SAG MOVES RAPIDLY TOWARDS THE ESTABLISH-
MENT OF A JUST SOCIETY, THE MODERATES, FAVORABLY
DISPOSED TO THE US, WILL GROW IN INFLUENCE AND NUMBERS
ESPECIALLY IF THE US IS SEEN TO HAVE INDUCED
POSITIVE CHANGE. BENEATH ALL THE MANY EMOTIONS AND VIEW-
POINTS LIES THE BASIC IDENTIFICATION WITH THE US BLACK
COMMUNITY AND THE EXPECTATION THAT THE US CAN BE A
POWERFUL AGENT FOR CHANGE IN SOUTH AFRICA.
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